1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

only insofar as it affects strength or capacity. Regional specialization is completely lacking.

In the absence of any professional occupations—there being no people who wholly devote themselves to such activities as carpentering, tanning, or hunting—only a limited amount of individual specialization may be noted. Some men are regarded as excelling in the manufacture of boats, snowshoes, or in carpentering while certain women are well known for their skill in sewing and cooking. Such professionals are occasionally approached for assistance in carrying out a task like boat building and are paid for their work. In general, however, such services are rarely requested.

A summary of the division of labor is presented in Table 11. It must be pointed out that this tabulation is based on manifest behavior which, in some cases, differs from the ideals of the society. For example, Louis Maza reported that a man's job is to get wood, brush, and water for the camp while the woman lays the brush and does the cooking. Actually few if any men haul water, none gets brush, but some do haul heavy wood.

Table 11 shows that out of thirty-eight representative occupations, eight are normally performed by either sex and at least thirteen additional ones are frequently done by both sexes. Few tasks can be rigidly allocated to either men or women. Although certain occupations ascribed to men are not normally done by women, women can in an emergency fulfill these tasks. Such work includes big game hunting, cutting trees, and even building tent frames. Men too, in an emergency, can tan skin, make babiche, wash or repair clothes, sew moccasins, and fill snowshoes. In general, however, men do not like to perform women's duties.

No occupations are clearly demarcated by age categories, ability rather than age determining when tasks may be performed. Children, particularly girls above the age of six or seven, perform such household duties as getting wood and water, making fire, tending rabbit snares, sewing, and washing clothes. Girls from about eleven years of age assist in such heavier or more complex female activities as tanning skin, making camp, lacing snowshoes, or preparing cordage. Mature girls and women, however, take the executive role in carrying out these activities. Boys from fifteen years commonly engage in male allocated tasks like cutting trees, hewing, woodworking, trapping, and hunting, but if they are below that age little more than occasional assistance in these tasks is expected of them. No activities are taboo to old age. An old person keeps performing his customary duties until the nature of the work exceeds his physical powers. As a matter of fact it is this dwindling ability, rather than accumulated years, which defines old age.[13]

INTERPERSONAL RELATIONS

Related to what has already been said of the relatively slight importance of social organization in Kaska society is the fact that interpersonal relations are primarily restricted within the family during six or seven months of the year. Visits between winter settlements relieve this pattern somewhat, but it is mainly during trading visits to Lower Post that such interpersonal relations involve larger segments of the society. The highest degree of social interaction occurs during the summer, when members of the several tribes make their residence in that town.

[13] See below pp. 198–200.

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

things according to the detailed specifications of adults; rather the child is given an opportunity to work out for himself the details of many cultural tasks. The responsibility accorded to a twelve year old was vividly demonstrated in Lower Post when five children, ranging from seven to twelve, climbed into a boat to cross the Liard River. The oldest boy could not start the outboard motor and the vessel began to drift down the swift current. He gave orders to his compaions, and four children seized the oars, two on each side, and in that way they crossed. 866

Correlated with the child's early development of independence and a sense of personal responsibility is the fact that children, especially girls, are not long exempt from making economic contributions to the family. It must be realized, however, that in a society where only relatively brief periods of intense labor are regarded as necessary and in which duties are undertaken leisurely, without compulsion, there remains abundant free time which children may claim for themselves. The Kaska girl, like her mother, is not a household drudge and the economic obligations of children do not restrain either sex from play or from social interaction with agemates. 866 461

Adolescence

The period from puberty to marriage is a relatively short one for the Kaska girl and only slightly longer for the boy. It is a time which marks the full growth of the independence for which young people have been prepared since early childhood. No social recognition marks the transition to puberty in the boy or girl. 882

Menarche is handled so privately by a girl's mother that sometimes not even the father is aware that his daughter has reached physical maturity. Sequestration of menstruants has only recently disappeared.[89] Apart from the fact that some men refrain from sexual intercourse during catamenia, there are practically no disabilities restricting girls' behavior at this time. Since women are reluctant to speak of menstruation, even to other women, the subject was not a suitable one for obtaining detailed information. According to Paulette Donnelly, no absorbent is worn to catch the menstrual flow. Observation suggests that younger women often change from slacks to dresses when the flow is in progress. 881 941

For the girl puberty is accompanied by few major changes in her economic role. She has been using a small rifle for a year or two and has already been given the task of running her mother's rabbit lines. With her mother or sister she has started trapping and earning money from fur that came into her traps. The pubescent girl is generally an accomplished sewer, able to make dresses or moccasins, and has sufficiently observed the processing of moosehide to be able to carry out the task herself. In a word, she is as adult in her experience as her physiological capacities permit. Beginning with puberty a mild avoidance relationship, phrased as shyness, begins to develop between many girls and their fathers. This persists even after the girl is married. "Used to be Anna like my heart," Old Man said. "Now she grow up I wouldn't talk to her. Injun like that." 883

The economic role of the boy has not been as fully developed as the girl's; that is, unlike his sister, he has not been given as many opportunities to learn his socially expected roles

[89] For information regarding what must have been one of the last case of puberty sequestration see Dorothy Plover's autobiographical sketch below, pp. 342–343.

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

● 883 [572] by performing them. Around puberty the boy's education begins as an independent trapper and hunter. Unlike the earlier trips with his father, this is more serious work. If he is acting as the *protégé* of an older man, his winters are occupied in hauling and cutting large supplies of winter wood, hunting rabbits and chicken for daily food, and guiding the toboggan. If the youngster shows himself willing and eager to do and learn, the relationship between the partners is warm and comfortable. If, however, the youth shows a tendency to lie in bed on cold mornings and is slow in executing his expected tasks, his life is plagued and made miserable. Father, uncle, and brothers lecture to him about his laziness and may even plant practical jokes on him. Thus late one morning, while Donald Sum was sitting up in his sleeping place sipping coffee and eating a late breakfast, Old Man planted a thin stick behind the youth's back. When Donald lay down again after his repast the stick snapped, but not before it had sharply jabbed into his back. If the boy is afraid of the bush (in other words, if he has not unlearned the socially patterned attitudes of childhood), he is "talked to" and cajoled. From the life history material collected, it is apparent that adolescents often have to "unlearn" fear of the forest when they begin to travel alone, but this seems to have been successfully accomplished in most men and even in many women.

For their activities adolescents receive more praise than they have hitherto been accustomed to. A girl's sewing is pointed to with pride by a mother or father. A girl who can shoot rabbits, chicken, and porcupine is flattered and may be called "my little boy." A boy who begins to hunt is praised less lavishly for small game (although his bag is always welcome), but his first moose or caribou marks an occasion of considerable excitement. By his ability, diligence, and persistence as a hunter and trapper a youth creates his reputation in the community just as a girl develops her prestige through domestic skills. These attributes prepare the adolescent's way to marriage.

Considered from an overall point of view, adolescent activities range from work to play. They include hunting and fishing trips, bicycle riding, dressmaking, swimming, and horseback riding. At this age the boy's teasing of girls assumes a sexual quality. The adolescents, as has already been described, often show a considerable fondness for younger children but also spend long periods in association with adults. Musical instruments have [533] been toyed with since a child was nine or ten; adolescence, however, is the time when serious efforts are made to master the violin and guitar. Now, too, boys and girls make their [273] first shy appearances on the dance floor. They also begin to drink. At first this drinking is casual, representing the acceptance of adults' hospitality, but by sixteen or seventeen, most boys demonstrate a keen appreciation of alcoholic release. Masturbation, although regarded [839] as highly shameful, is reported to be quite common for both sexes between thirteen and sixteen years of age but disappears once sexual intercourse is initiated. In summer, with the season's opportunities for social interaction, adolescence becomes a time of carefree holidaying. Responsibilities and duties are largely forgotten as the bush is forsaken; life revolves around dancing, music, gambling, drinking, and sexual relations.

883 572 An important behavior which makes its appearance in the later years of childhood and continues through adolescence to marriage is the formation of intrasexual friendships. Just as one seldom sees an unmarried boy and girl walking or talking together, so rarely is an adolescent seen abroad without a friend or companion of the same sex. Boys, having greater

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

freedom of movement than girls, have a wider range of friendships. Girls, particularly around the time of puberty, have their friendships restricted to female siblings and girls living in an immediately adjacent camp.

Fluidity tends to be a feature of such friendships, but during the period when a particular relationship exists it is often marked by close affection and exchange of confidence. The emotions of friendship are rarely expressed verbally, but are abundantly demonstrated tactually. Such expression is most strongly developed in girls, who are often seen holding hands, sitting close together, hugging, and wrestling. Boys, too, often sit resting against each others' bodies. Sometimes a boy creeps up behind a friend and embraces him tightly from behind, whereupon the other tries to lift him up or shake him loose. Such horsing around often leads to wrestling for sport.

Although adolescence may be thought to offer advantages in the way of less direct supervision, greater independence, and more opportunities for achieving prestige, there seems to be no haste in either boys or girls to grow up. Although two sisters may be only two years apart, and one may use lipstick or begin to tease and be teased by boys, the other does not presume above her age, and shows no haste to emulate her sister. She seems content to wait for the physiological signal that will denote her maturity. Meanwhile boys do not bother her. Such younger girls often act as companions to older friends, when the latter attend dances or walk around in the summer night. In this role they are often able to increase their sexual knowledge.

The boy's freedom during adolescence is greater than the girl's, just as his whole childhood has been marked by fewer obligations and duties. Girls of fourteen and fifteen continue to be scolded and forced to assist in household tasks, but there is evidence for believing that now this direction begins to be resented, leading to negativistic behavior. At this age girls, following a family quarrel, often leave their families to live with married sisters or maternal aunts. In late adolescence boys may also leave home and live in another settlement, but this step is generally a preparation for marriage.

What is the adolescent's orientation in life? What are his ambitions and aspirations? We sought to ask such questions but rarely received clear or decisive answers. Irene Wiley refused to try to think of her future and shook off all such inquiries. A typical expression of personal orientation comes from Carl Leonard, a literate fourteen year old boy of mixed Tahltan and Kaska parentage. Asked what he wanted to do when he grew up, Carl replied: "Work at something; little work. Build house. I want to trap most." Did he want to go outside of the Kaska area? "Sometimes I go out, just for trip." Why did he want to build a house? "Live inside." What was the goal in trapping? "Catch something on trap." What about money? "Yeah, make a little money." What is money good for? "Buy some things." If he had a great deal of money what would he buy? "Buy some grub, clothes for myself, buy good blankets. That's all."

From this not unrepresentative instance we may conclude that the Kaska adolescent's aspirations do not significantly outrank the generally low level of aspiration patterned by the society. The adolescent's goals are formulated within the conventional realm of experience; his personal ambition is limited. In later life the adult will retain these qualities as distinctive features of his personality.

6: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1954 ND12 Nahane ND12
Upper Liard
Dease River

weapons like a bow. Persistence in such behavior, she learned, might affect a brother's heart. Upon approaching puberty a boy began to seek a power dream with the active encouragement of his father. From now on he began to sleep in his own camp or perhaps in the company of older unmarried brothers. The custom probably reinforced the brother-sister avoidance and is also said to have safeguarded youths in the event of a surprise enemy raid. 868 887

Dease River Kaska. To eat fowl, rabbit, and porcupine or other soft foods in pregnancy promised to facilitate delivery. Parturition took place in a birth camp, that consisted of a circular wall of willows surrounding a fireplace. Here older women brought food from the main camp and assisted in the process of delivery. An ordinary knife served for cutting the umbilicus. Later the stump of the cord was dried, wrapped in a piece of tanned skin and sewn to the baby's hat, where it remained until the child began to walk. An infant would cry for a long time if this amulet became lost. Eventually the cord would be cached in a tree, where the skin-wrapped afterbirth had already been deposited (although it was probably not necessary that the same tree be employed). Following delivery the woman remained isolated and avoided sex relations for about three months. 843 844 846

Twins represented good fortune and neither of such a pair was killed. The Indians preferred boy babies to girls because the former would become hunters. Apparently female infanticide was sometimes condoned.[4] 845 847

Breast feeding lasted until about the age of three. On journeys, when a child began to cry the whole group of women might halt while it nursed. In winter during outdoor feeding fire had to be made for the nursing woman's comfort. No principles of naming were specified and teknonymy was denied. 853 553

Either parent exercised discipline. Children beyond the age of five who misbehaved or refused to heed parents' warnings were struck with the hands alone. Crawling in a young child met no discouragement. Toys included the buzz toy, bull-roarer, rawhide rattle, hoop to be pushed by a pole, and hollow moose hooves hung on a pole, which a child delighted in shaking. Dolls were not played with but string figures, a pastime said to have been derived from the Taku Indians, furnished children with a pleasant occupation. 861 857

ADOLESCENCE

Upper Liard Kaska. Coinciding with the vision quest, which in a sense marked the completion of childhood, a boy received training in hardihood and endurance.[5] In autumn he stripped and plunged into icy water. When winter came, groups of naked boys rolled in soft snow, after which some older men whipped the youths with willows. A boy never cried out in pain during such a trial but he could protect his chest with crossed arms and might escape when he reached the limit of endurance. A mild com- 883

[4] Among the Tlingit, infant girls were sometimes strangled. Twins being regarded as an "evil omen" were also put to death. Jones, *Study of the Tlingets of Alaska* (1914), 121.

[5] Perhaps the exercises began earlier and finished at puberty, as among the Navaho. Leighton and Kluckhohn, *Children of the People* (1947), 56-57.

6: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945)1954 ND12 Nahane ND12
Upper Liard

883 petitive element entered these exercises, as a boy who withstood whipping or remained in cold water longer than the others gained the reputation of toughness. It was predicted that he would be able to withstand considerable exposure to cold in later life.[6] It is reported that boys around the time of puberty showed fear of the bush. Overcoming their timidity no doubt constituted further training in hardihood.

553 551 With adolescence a child customarily received a new name, but the circumstances attending name changing could not be ascertained clearly. According to one informant (X), a girl retained her childhood name throughout life and the boy took over his father's at a memorial potlatch dedicated to that parent. Such a pattern hardly corresponds to a name change systematically associated with puberty. Only in anger did one ever call a grown person by his name. Normally people employed relationship terms even though no blood connection could be traced. Older men commonly received the designation "grandfather" while an age-mate responded to "brother-in-law." A child took special care not to utter his mother's name.

883 841 For the girl adolescence meant the beginning of reproductive life and ushered in menstrual avoidances that would continue until menopause except, of course, during periods of pregnancy. Although any connection between the menstrual flow and hymeneal bleeding was denied, people asserted that the initiation of sexual relations brought on menarche some five months later. As Ford points out, in conjunction with considerable premarital intercourse such a belief "would only rarely be challenged by contradictory facts."[7] Girls knew from warnings they had received that sexual experience led to bleeding, and not uncommonly a girl noticing the onset of menstruation seized her blanket and shamefully ran off. The mother followed, seeking her daughter where the latter hid under a tree. The girl was asked the name of the boy who had "started" her. The theory that accidents which caused internal injuries also brought on menstrual bleeding probably served as a rationalization for the appearance of the menses in girls whose chastity had been more than casually guarded. Nobody asso-

[6] Among the Tlingit, "in the winter time, in the extreme cold weather, men and boys would go down to the beach and, naked, jump into ice-cold water" or roll in the snow. "They would then switch their nude bodies, or have someone do it for them, until the blood would all but break through the skin. . . . Youngsters were treated in this way to teach them endurance and make them brave." (Jones, *Study of the Thlingets of Alaska* [1914], 120.) To the north of the upper Liard area in the country of the Pelly River, "after the winter set in it was the custom in the morning before they made a fire to cut a hole in the ice where the water would come about to the shoulders. All the men and youths that held any claim to being strong and being able to withstand hardship jumped in the water, each being armed with small bundles of willows. When they had stayed in the water as long as able, they climbed on the ice and beat each other with willows. The man who could stay in the water the longest and also the hardest whipping with the willows and ask for more was proclaimed the strongest man in the tribe." (Field, *Unpublished manuscript* [1913], 6-7.) Among the Tanaina, along with their value on early rising it was the maternal uncle who threw the boys into cold weather if they did not rise promptly. Osgood, *Ethnography of the Tanaina*, (1937), 135, 143. Compare with Honigmann, *Culture and Ethos of Kaska Society* (1949), 190; Honigmann, *Changes in Sarsi Social Culture* (manuscript).

[7] Similar beliefs in a relationship between coitus and menstruation occur among the Lepcha, Andamanese, and Murngin. (Ford, *A Comparative Study of Human Reproduction* [1945], 9.) In the Northern Athapaskan Area the middle Yukon River "Tena," too, held that menstruation was brought on by sexual intercourse. Jetté, *On the Superstitions of the Tena Indians* (1911), 700.

6: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945)1954 ND12 Nahane ND12
Upper Liard

ciated lunation and the menstrual cycle. Amenorrhea was disturbing because it led to weakness, but occasionally to miss a period promised a long life—perhaps because of the association between the cessation of menstruation in advanced age. There existed no word to designate the menstrual flow. Men never mentioned the process and women spoke euphemistically about camping "way back" and then never in the company of the opposite sex. 883 841

With menarche the girl underwent her first menstrual sequestration in an open camp located about a quarter of a mile from the dwelling. At least during this initial period, the menstrual camp was sometimes encircled by a wall of brush that obstructed the occupant's view.[8] Although only a single adolescent usually occupied the camp, sometimes a younger girl went along to keep the menstruant company. During her first seclusion a girl wore a large hooded robe of smoked skin, lacking sleeves, and wide enough to envelop the whole body, while the hem was pegged to the ground.[9] For scratching her head she employed a bone rod about five or six inches long. A swan-quill drinking tube and a special awl also constituted part of her paraphernalia. All these objects were carried on a line that passed around the girl's neck. Across the hood a mother placed another line to which she fastened small pieces of dried meat. The meat would prevent the girl from being stingy with food in womanhood. Initial seclusion lasted one month, during which time specially prepared food was carried to the menstrual camp. The menstruant, however, ate lightly and took no more than four or five swallows of water daily through the drinking tube. Also she remained industriously occupied; when other tasks were completed the girl kept her fingers busy endlessly "counting" (picking?) the needles from spruce brush on the floor of her camp. Should the parents move camp during the sequestration period, the menstruant followed a distance behind the group and in the company of her mother. Young men dared not follow in her footsteps if they valued their dream power. At the end of the month a skin cape reaching to the elbows was substituted for the great hooded cloak. The second garment provided far greater freedom for the girl's working arms. Now, too, the pubescent returned to eat and sleep in the parent's camp, but she retained her menstrual camp for one more month. Then both garments were burned. A rich man sometimes provided a feast when his daughter completed her puberty seclusion. 881

Each month a menstruating woman re-entered sequestration, remaining in the menstrual camp for the duration of the period. At this time she avoided raw (fresh?) meat, moose head, and moose marrow but could drink any amount of water. Also she did not now cook for her husband or children. During seclusion the woman quit wearing 841

[8] Jones speaks of the Tlingit pubescent sequestrated from four to twelve months "in some cramped, coop-like place." (Jones, *Study of the Tlingets of Alaska* [1914], 133.) Swanton gives the period of seclusion as about two or three months. The girl "had to undergo many observances supposed to affect her future life, as also the existence of people around her. Her look might destroy the luck of hunter, fisher, or gambler, turn objects into stone, etc." Swanton, *Social Conditions, Beliefs and Linguistic Relationship of the Tlingit Indians* (1908), 428.

[9] It is probably relatively fruitless to ask if historical connection exists between this robe, widespread in northwest America, and the cloak described by Mead for the Manus girl. Mead, *Growing Up in New Guinea* (1939).